brought forth a miserable-looking pony with a three-inch coat of thick hair and a general appearance of neglect and suffering. Its rider "looked big enough to carry the poor beast on his shoulders" and was armed with a club with which he belabored the animal from starting line to the finish. Yet, to the surprise of the whites the Indian pony managed to win by a neck. Within an hour the officers bit again and lost by a nose. Then they suggested a third race and brought out a magnificent Kentucky racing mare. In a frenzy of excitement the Indians bet everything that the whites would take. With the starting signal the Indian rider threw away his club, gave a whoop, and his little mount "went away like the wind." That Kentucky mare was soon so far behind that for the last fifty yards the Comanche sat backwards on his pony beckoning to the white rider to come on. The whites afterwards learned that the shaggy pony was a celebrated racer, and that the Comanches had just come back from fleecing the Kickapoos to the tune of six hundred ponies with that same little horse.[82]

Straight-run relay races from a standing start for a distance "ten times the distance you can shoot an arrow," or a good two miles, made a favorite run. Shorter obstacle races put both speed and control to a rigorous test.

To the Comanche, then, the horse was an intimate household friend, a beast of burden, a counter in the great prestige game of the warriors, a "gamer," and an occasional source of food. But it was to the buffalo that he turned for his economic mainstay.

The buffalo was as indispensable to the Comanche as the horse. No part of the slaughtered animal was wasted except the rump, spine, and skull. Hair, skin, flesh, blood, bones, entrails, horns, sinews, kidneys, liver, paunch, and the dried excrement were all utilized. The Indian ate its flesh, the marrow of its bones, the contents of the gall bladder on raw liver, and even at times its entrails—a habit left over from Shoshone days. Of the edible parts, only the heart was unconsumed; it was left for magical perpetuation of the herds.

When the Comanche was thirsty and water was not available, there was the blood of the buffalo. Its paunch, after the inner lining was removed, was used as a water bag and also as a container in which

[82] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 329–30.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

to cook stone-boiled soup. The dried excrement (chips) of the buffalo burned slowly and made a hot and lasting fire for both warmth and cooking; it was sometimes used ceremoniously as a support to keep some sacred object from touching the ground, and it was so endowed with power that scouts swore their oaths of veracity on a pile of buffalo chips. The bones, hoofs, and horns of the buffalo were fashioned into cups, spoons, and ornaments; and the horns were occasionally fashioned into bows or worn on headdresses on special occasions. Sinews from the back made bow strings and thread. Ropes were made from the twisted hair. The hide was used to manufacture clothing, lodge coverings, thongs, saddles, bridles, and bags. When properly finished with the fine coat of wool and the hair left on it, it provided an unusually warm robe. Freed from the hair and dressed, it constituted a summer blanket. A green hide served for a pot before the white traders brought kettles, and braided strands of rawhide provided an excellent rope.

There was a time, according to Comanche legend, when the Indians did not have access to the buffalo. In the version recorded fifty years ago by H. H. St.Clair, Coyote effected their release by a ruse.[33] In a hitherto unpublished version given by That's It in 1933 it was *Ka:wus,* the Culture Hero, who turned the trick.

« « « Our knowledge only goes to the point where man and the earth were already here.

The People were out playing three kinds of games one day—the wheel game, throwing arrows, and shooting with the bow. A strange man came amongst them. He talked to no one. Just stood there looking on with a quiver over his shoulder.

After a while he said, "I'll go over there to defecate." He laid down his quiver and jumped in a creek. While he was down there, a young man went up and looked in his bag. There was a nice piece of fat in it. He took it up and showed it to the other Indians. They all wondered where that old man came from. "He certainly has plenty of meat," they all said.

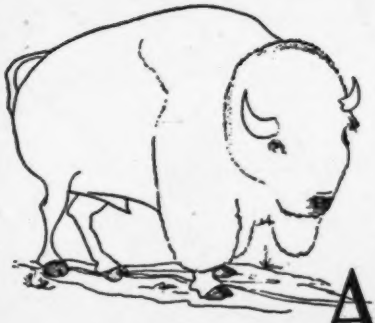
Then they all plotted to stop playing at meal time. They left the

[33] H. H. St. Clair, "Shoshone and Comanche Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* No. 85 (July–September, 1909), 280–81.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

IV

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings



ALTHOUGH the subsistence activities of the Comanches centered around the buffalo, theirs was not a one-crop economy. Elk were plentiful in the brushy regions bordering the rivers and their tributaries. The black bear, found in the Cross Timbers, was hunted largely for its oil, which was used in the preparation of hides. The Comanches considered bear meat less tasty than either buffalo or deer. Principally within the region of the High Plains, in the heart of the buffalo country, roamed herds of antelope in great numbers. A herd of about two thousand was once seen at Fort Dodge.[1]

Food was usually plentiful enough that the Comanches no longer bothered, as did the horseless Shoshones, to run down antelope until the frightened and exhausted animals dropped. But they did retain from their Shoshonean background the magical antelope surround that was so widely used by the Indians of the Great Basin.

It was used among the Comanches only when the whole camp was out of food. Then the camp leaders would go to a medicine man or a medicine woman who had antelope power. They would smoke and tell him the trouble. According to Slope's account, the medicine man called for an antelope dance lasting several days to work up his power and to draw in the antelope. He selected two men to whom he gave some of his power for what they had to do. When all was

[1] Garretson, *op. cit.*, 64.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

There has been much speculation about the meaning of the grooves. The most popular theory is that they permitted the blood of the victim to escape so as to weaken him. Another explanation is that the grooves symbolized lightning, which the Indians believed would make the arrows more surely fatal. It seems more probable that they were to prevent the shaft from warping.

The flight and accuracy of an arrow depended to a great extent upon the feathers. If the feathers were good and properly arranged, the arrow carried well. Those of the wild turkey seem to have been the most popular, but, when they were not obtainable, owl or buzzard feathers were used. Neither was affected by blood. Feathers of hawks and eagles were not desirable, since they were injured when wet with blood. Each arrow-maker had his own technique of winging the arrows. When the Cheyennes first began to wing their arrows, they used two feathers, but later changed to three. Some tribes used four. The Comanches used both the two- and three-feather winging technique. Some of the best-informed Comanches regard the two-feathered arrow as unsatisfactory, since it will not follow a straight line to the target. The feathers were taken from the wings, the stems split, the tip of the split stems dipped in glue, and the feathers bound in the grooves on either side of the shaft with a thread of sinew.[11]

In the distal end of the arrow shaft a notch was cut, or a cleft made, in which the arrowhead was set. Colonel Dodge believed that the Comanches placed the blade of the hunting arrow in the same plane with the notch for the string so that it would be more likely to pass between the ribs of the animal, which are up and down. For the same reason, the blade of the war arrow was at right angles to the notch, since the ribs of the human enemy were horizontal.[12] The head

informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Anon., "Indian Bow and Arrow," *loc. cit.*, 141–42; Garretson, *op. cit.*, 179; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160; R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 349; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 270; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 178–81; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94.

[11] Informant: Kills Something; also, Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94; Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 270; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160.

[12] R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 418–19.

The Comanches

778 Practically every Comanche in more or less varying degree possessed one or more of these amulets or charms which he carried or wore. Some were obtained from medicine men; others were discovered through visions. Men very commonly wore one or more such charms tied in the hair or about the neck. Especially did a man turn to his medicine if he had a new project of great importance in view, such as setting forth on the warpath or attempting a trading or hunting expedition into enemy territory. Charms were put on very young children by their mothers for the purpose of ensuring good health and protecting them from evil influences. Crow feathers had an especial protective power for babies; tied to the cradle-board, they kept away evil spirits. Their power was negative. In fact, we never heard of the crow's giving *puha* to a man. It was tabu to use crow feathers as flight feathers on arrows. "You absolutely cannot hit anything with such arrows," said That's It. Adding his contribution, Skinny and Wrinkled, who was interpreting, declared that he always uses the bow and arrow to hunt winter game. He is a Carlyle graduate and prone to test Comanche beliefs. "I have tried using crow-feather guides," he said. "It is no good. It does something to the shooter so he can't hit nothing."

[751] ●237 [411]

A stuffed bat on the cradle also watched protectively over the baby. "He's little, but he's really a man."

756 In Comanche society practically all males and many old women came to possess medicine, but only those who possessed at least one outstanding thaumaturgic power were recognized as medicine men or women. The greater one's power, the greater the prestige he achieved. People possessing great power usually had several lesser powers as well, and they were sought after by would-be neophytes. According to Post Oak Jim, who is himself a notable medicine man, "A *puhakʌt* likes to keep his favorite medicine, which he does not use often. If a young man offers smoke and asks for medicine, he will withhold his favorite and give him another."

This asking for medicine was an interesting aspect of Comanche practice and attitudes. From the Comanche point of view a good citizen should help his fellow tribesmen. Medicine was primarily to bring success in war and the hunt, activities in which the triumphs of each redounded to the benefit of all. Medicine, like a helping hand,

mournful fact, that much of it is obtained from those unfortunate individuals, who fall victims to their cupidity. They cut off the hair from the back part of their heads, *leaving it in front, the longer* the better, and which they divide so as to bring it down from each temple, and to this they fasten any other that they can get, until it nearly reaches the feet. The savage who cut off mine, wore it in this way, and took frequent opportunity exultingly to remind me of it. But their cues with them are indispensable, and if they cannot obtain them in one way, they will in another, and horse-hair answers in the room of better. They do [57] them up usually in strips of red and blue cloth, carefully winding it closely from the top to the extremity, with the red on one side, and the blue on the other. To a small tuft of hair which they leave behind, is appended trinkets of the most trifling kind, such as old buttons, or any thing that will jingle, and on their arms and fingers they have a profusion of rings of different kinds. Their ornaments are laid aside when they go out to war.

.Their treatment of the sick is truly singular. When any of them, whether male or female, is considered to be seriously indisposed, they (the women) take all the grass and every other obstruction from a spot of ground sufficiently large to admit of the construction of two tents together; these are for the accommodation of friends. In the centre of the circle formed by the tent, they dig

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division.

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs.

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers.

When the master of the nā'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nǐotsāit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged.

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 754 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to preclude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them. They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think, 175 789 or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate [237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and unerring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck, 175 751 one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

175 595 [585] The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death. [68] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game. 175 593 462 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and OOO waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

always ride without saddles, and without any other encumbrance than the waist-cloth to their persons.—This lightness of apparel gives them a manifest advantage over their Spanish adversaries, whose horses are heavily caparisoned, and whose persons are embarrassed by a cumbrous load of accoutrements that partake more of the pomp, than the uses of war. Light shot guns, javelins, or lances, about 8 feet long, and bows and arrows compose their weapons. For defence they wear on the left wrist, a shield made of Buffaloes hide, consolidated when green by a process in which fire is the principal agent. They are made in an oval or circular form, about two feet in diameter, and presenting a surface slightly convexed. They are exceedingly tough, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and often so to the ball of a *scopete;* and they are light and easily disengaged from the arm in case of emergency. The loss of a shield does not attach an inexpiable disgrace to the character of a Comanchee warrior. They are comparatively novices in the use of fire-arms, and have an insuperable aversion to the weight of Rifles, but employ the bow and lance with great dexterity, and to a dispersed and retreating enemy, with destructive effect. The known capacity of their horses, and their minute acquaintance with the invaded country, which enables them generally to surprise the indolent and inert Spaniards, concurring with the miserable condition of the provinces for defense, inspire them with an artificial fearlessness, which invests them in the view of their ignorant and spiritless enemies, with the hideous horrors of the basilisk. But in truth, these horrors are imaginary: oppose them with decision and energy, and they will crouch like the Spaniel, or fly like the "stricken fawn."—They usually make what they term their grand campaign, once a year, either in the spring or fall season, when the three bands unite and co-operate in plundering and devastating the defenceless provinces that are contiguous to the Rio Grande. Besides these periodical invasions, the preparations for which, bear some resemblance to the pomp and circumstance of war, and the issues are frequently most disastrous to the exposed Provincials; there is a continual egress and

175 726 [492] [714]
175 411
175 714 [237]
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175 411
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21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

157 [ca. 1818]
175 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its contemptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental nothingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profession. The squaws from the infancy are too completely servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend
136 into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage, and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the depredations of their numerous biped enemies) to their northern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buf-
000 faloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Comanchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
[461] in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alternatives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency,
[237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone, having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche)6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household economy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they manifest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accustomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they usually have an adequate supply during the cold months, from November to March. They reserve but little from the winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their 584
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of an ever-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; dons his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

(ca. 1870)

584 unfrequently the talons and beaks of the prairie eagles and falcons, a breast-
301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
231 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
584 and at other times flaming in vermillion colors, or yellow as the victims
302 of "the plague of the Indies," the Comanche beau mounts his pony and proceeds to the lodge of his inamorata, dismounts, and, if the maiden comes and hitches his pony, enters and squats upon the ground; and displays his discontent with his lot by responding to every inquiry with a most dolorous
584 "Ugh! Ugh!" After manifesting his misery to an extent deemed sufficient, the Comanche young gentleman rises with great dignity, and repeating two or three knell-like "Ugh! Ughs!" he remounts and rides off without so much as deigning to utter a word. If the maiden he desires to woo does not take charge of his pony, that ends the courtship. He would despise himself and be the fool of the tribe to persist under such circumstances.

An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
584 ence for her. She of course must be delighted. If the father is a chief or
583 principal man in the tribe, he provides a dower for the daughter. The young suitor must be able to respond in equal measure in the way of presents of this world's goods. Sometimes a Comanche belle may have, as a portion, as many as fifty ponies. The suitor in such case should be prepared to turn over fifty-one ponies as a present to his would be father-in-law.
[583] If this can be done, a bargain is usually concluded. No further ceremony is necessary. The maiden and her fifty ponies become the absolute property of the young man. He has "swapped" fifty-one ponies for fifty ponies and got a wife, or rather slave, into the bargain.

585 When negotiations have been concluded, the dandy proceeds to the lodge of his bride, but not in the same plight as before. He enters, throws down his deer skin mantle, casts from him his weapons, and then orders the bride to enter upon her duties as a wife and slave by taking them up and proceeding to follow him to his own lodge, bearing the burdens he has thrown down for her.

[595] The bride may have three or four sisters, and they may all be wives of her husband before the expiration of a week. Mothers-in-law excite
606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is working her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the presence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts. Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-

31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls.

> You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost.

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth.

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains.

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring.

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient.

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Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This is specifically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupits*, which she translates as "big old giant." She also refers to it as *tsunbip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

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The madstone, or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth believed by the Comanches to be the bones of *piamompits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison. 756 755 237

Sanapia offers the following description of what *piamopits* was supposed to have looked like. 756 755 825

> It look like a man . . . big, old monster. They said it got a face like a man. It's got hair all over its body and it got big feet. It's tall, you know. They die of old age, I guess. They be way out there somewhere and just sit there and die. Just after awhile dirt just covering them up, and they go under ground like that. That's where they find this medicine up to today.

Sanapia grinds this medicine, which she calls "bone medicine," into a powder and mixes it with water to form a dilute medicinal solution. She sometimes simply wets the piece of bone and applies it to the afflicted area of the body. Bone medicine is used to strengthen bones and is especially effective in the treatment of sprains. Sanapia does not mention its use in the treatment of boils, wounds, or infections. 756 755 237 278

The Bible

Sanapia carries a Bible with her most of the time, and it is always present when she doctors. Before beginning treatment she holds the Bible in both hands before her and prays for power. 756 755 779

> I really read bible lots, and I go by the bible when I'm doctoring too. I always ask God to give power to my hands and mind. I pray hard to the Holy Ghost. I learned that bible while I was at Cache Creek school. My mother didn't go by the bible when she doctoring, but I do, because you got to ask God for help sometimes.

Medicine Feather

Sanapia's Medicine feather is the tail feather from a golden eagle. She employs it in every case she doctors, and of all the items which she carries when she doctors, this is the most revered. The feather is used to ceremonially "fan" her patient at various points during the course of treatment and as a general prop in her doctoring performances. It is always cedared before and after use. 756 755 237 825 798

"Fanning" is an act of blessing as well as a strictly curative act when performed by Sanapia. When it is being used as a tool in the doctoring procedure, she employs the feather to waft the smoke from certain smoldering medicines over her patient. At times though, during treatment and always immediately after treatment, Sanapia lightly taps the patient with her Medicine feather around the face and head, making four passes over the face and forehead and four passes over the back of the head. She then taps four times on each arm with a fanning motion. This is proceeded by four fanlike taps on the chest and back and four

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fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

"Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat. She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene; however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted by mixing it with water or tallow.

The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is obtained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her patient she is asking the earth to care for him.

> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

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However, these plants are believed to possess a high degree of power by their nature and are therefore not so dependent on the earth and the sun for power.

In the fall when Sanapia judges that the sun is growing weaker and is less able to give power to the medicine plants, she begins her medicine plant collection. She feels she is then obtaining the medicines at their peak of maturity. In the case of my investigation of Sanapia, her collecting time fell in late October and early November. The later the summer and fall, the more efficacious the medicine plants will be since they have been exposed to the sun for an added amount of time.

For the most part the plants which Sanapia uses grow in sandy soil. She denies that medicine plants can be obtained from any other type of soil. *Batiwa:pi* is the word which Sanapia applies to this type of soil, and she translates the word as "sandy," "sandy ground;" or "best ground."

Sanapia follows a fairly rigid field preparation of the medicine plants she collects. As soon as possible after extracting them from the earth, they are taken to the nearest body of flowing water, where they are cut into manipulatable sizes and washed. Upon returning to her house, she once again washes the medicines and then stores them in the storm cellar, suspending some from lines which traverse the cellar and placing the remainder in jars. The immersion in flowing water applies to roots or plant parts other than leaves or flowering bodies;

Bottom: sweet sage. Left to right: mescal beans, chow feather amulet, charcoal from peyote drum, gray sage.

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steeped to produce a decoction or infusion of the desired consistency and coloration, or she employs the powdered peyote buttons alone. She also makes a medicinal relish from the green peyote buttons. In many cases the peyote is left unaltered and used in its dried or green state.

As mentioned, Sanapia can involve peyote in the treatment of any type of illness. Peyote is used mainly by Sanapia as a painkiller and sedative. It can be prepared in numerous ways. To quiet pain, Sanapia gives the patient four peyote buttons to eat, in most cases by chewing them first. For colds, pneumonia, and internal disorders, a decoction or infusion of peyote, commonly called "peyote tea," is administered.

When treating ghost sickness, Sanapia manipulates peyote in several ways. The patient is given four buttons to act as a sedative. During treatment Sanapia puts some dilute peyote tea in her mouth, releases a portion of it into her hands, and applies this to the affected portions of the patient's face. While retaining some of the solution in her mouth, she applies her mouth to the patient's face. She may also spew this thin decoction over the patient if she believes this type of procedure would be efficacious.

She applies thin, latitudinal, coinlike slices of the peyote button in the treatment of arthritis, severe headaches, heart pains, and in any relatively localized area of pain. Of course, a liquid preparation of peyote can also be administered in these conditions. The exact manner of administration and preparation of all medicines is determined by Sanapia through experience and inspiration.

Sanapia carries several peyote buttons with her at all times. She considers this her minimal doctoring kit. Peyote is extremely important to Sanapia as a medicine. However, she feels that her powers make her superior to the peyote. She states that peyote is the most powerful of all plant medicines. It is also one of the few medicines which Sanapia talks to and the only one which she threatens.

təpinatsu

"rock medicine"

This medicine is not a botanical item. I include it under the section on botanical medicines for several reasons. Sanapia feels that rock medicine is totally composed of plant parts. Also, at times she speaks of it "growing on rocks."

Təpinatsu is the word which Sanapia applies to the gummy, amber-colored matrix produced by a variety of mason bee as the basic material for its egg depositories. This solitary bee affixes these irregularly shaped cases, which are usually between ½ and 1 inch in diameter and approximately one-fourth of an inch thick, to rocks and then proceeds to camouflage the case by inserting local grains of sand and pieces of gravel into the sticky matrix of the case. It is from the resulting rocklike appearance that the medicine gains its Comanche name. Sanapia describes its composition:

> Some little bitty bugs get gum from the cedars on them slick hills. Then they take bites from the yellow flowers on them broomweeds, and some sage

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278 824 too. Put it in their bodies and mix it up so they can stick it on these rocks like you can see. That's why this medicine works best with cedar.

237 755 757 Rock medicine is only used in conjunction with cedar: Both are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke. The *təpinatsu* sputters when placed on the coals and produces a thick white smoke which is not unlike cedar smoke in [754] odor, though more pungent. This medicine's major use is in the treatment of ghost sickness and the results of witchcraft.

Sanapia picks the tiny pebbles and grains of sand from the *təpinatsu* and forms the then-translucent amber-colored gum into a ball about an inch in diameter. She rolls the ball between her palms and the heat and friction polish it to a glassy brown-gold color. It is in this form that it is utilized as medicine.

There is a medicine similar in kind to *təpinatsu* which Sanapia reports is found in the vicinity of Wichita Falls, Texas. The Comanche word for it, according to Sanapia, means "rats make it." It is described as being of the same composition as *təpinatsu*; however, instead of being produced by "little bugs," it is believed to be produced by pack rats. The gummy substance is melted in hot water, and persons suffering from paralysis, other than the kind caused by ghosts, are bathed in this concoction. This medicine, unmelted, is also applied directly to the area of paralysis. Sanapia remembers that her mother used this medicine; however, it was not transferred to Sanapia when she became a doctor.

278 824 755 757 [844] [303] Another medicine plant of which Sanapia has knowledge, but which was not transmitted by her mother to her, is one which, when mixed *bekwinatsu*, was administered as a sedative to women in protracted labor. The seeds of this plant were utilized as medicine when boiled into a medicinal decoction. Sanapia also states that the seeds of this plant augment the attractive aroma of Indian perfume (*Monarda fistulosa*) when the two are mixed and moistened.

I can just sit here and look at them bald prairies and see four kinds of medicines growing. I bet you can't even see them? Not many . . . even of my people, up to today, can even see them growing early in the spring. I can because I've learned that way. There's lots of plants that can get you well, but they ain't many people who even know that anymore.

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775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.
756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[274] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

[372] This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
237 she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

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754 who his potential victim might be, and it is considered a breach of etiquette to
756 quiz him on the subject. There is also the element of fear present since the
785 *puhakut*, though prepared to witch, does not name his victim until the final stage of witchcraft, and thus any untoward actions by an individual may draw the *puhakut*'s pent-up resolve in a direction which could be decided by him on the spur of the moment. Sanapia likens the *puhakut*, during this phase of witchcraft, to a bomb which could be detonated at the slightest touch.

754 The final stage of witchcraft is initiated by sunrise on the selected day
756 and is completed by sunset on the same day. The *puhakut* takes a white eagle plume and, puncturing the base of the rib, inserts a length of buckskin approxi-
237 mately 12 inches long. The buckskin is tied so that the plume dangles tip down from this buckskin strand. Immediately before sunrise, carrying this one specially prepared item, the *puhakut* goes off by himself to perform his witchcraft. He secures the plume from the branch of a tree in such a manner that it will be hidden from the view of a possible passerby but so it can move freely at the dictates of the wind. He then sits beneath the plume and begins to pray for the death of his victim. As he prays, he makes before him in the soil a small replica of a grave and prays that when the plume finally breaks free from its tether, the object of his prayers will die and enter the grave which has been prepared for him. At sunset the *puhakut* returns to his home, his witchcraft completed. He wears the buckskin loop until the death of his victim, at which time he cuts it from his skin, burns it, and throws the ashes into the nearest running water.

Kardiner (1945:67) writes that a Comanche who thought he was going to be witched or who had been witched could pay the doctor who was responsible to remove the "spell." Sanapia denies this and emphasizes that one of the particularly horrible things about witchcraft is that it cannot be stopped once it is set in motion. A doctor can sometimes cure the witch's victim once the witchcraft has been actualized, but nothing can be done by a doctor before the symptoms appear in the victim. She feels that the majority of witching situations never reach the final stage. In her opinion the buckskin loop advertisement of the witch usually persuades the potential victim to cease his misbehavior before the witch finally and irrevocably sets his black magic into operation. Sanapia also states that this is used as a form of blackmail by some Comanches.

Sanapia refers to this final stage of witchcraft as "shooting the feather." She states that the witch causes the eagle plume to enter the body of the victim at the moment it breaks free from its tether. The feather enters the victim immediately below the surface of the skin and proceeds to move rapidly over the entire body area, causing the physical symptoms associated with witchcraft. It finally lodges in some area of the victim's body, where it will eventually cause his death if it is not removed by a doctor who possesses the Medicine required to counteract its influence.

754 It is significant that the method of witchcraft as related by an eagle doctor
756 would have as its principle ritual an eagle plume which is prepared and utilized
825 in such a manner as to make it as much like an eagle as possible: It is placed very high in a tree, and it is attached to the tree in such a manner that it will be able to move freely and naturally at the motion of the wind. This follows from

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Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body. 753

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible. 753 751 237

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence 753 828 795 825 827 203

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 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–23 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 273–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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FIGURES 19-20. Comanche shield, with medicines attached, and painted cover. (USNM 4432.)

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FIGURE 21. Comanche painted shield cover. (Field Museum 60.579.)

ently the body cavities of these small animals were stuffed with grass before they were tied to the shield. The shield is 59 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Its front surface is further decorated with a painted reddish-brown stripe about 2.5 cm. wide, flanked with white stripes, two small green circles (one above and one below the stripe), and two U-shaped designs in green. The narrow loops of rawhide which pass through the shield surface provide an attachment at the back of the shield for a carrying strap of horsehide 7.5 cm. wide.

This shield is provided with a loosely fitted cover of soft skin, 60 cm. in diameter, which is held in place by a buckskin drawstring that gathers the outer edge of the cover at the back of the shield when pulled tight and tied. This cover is painted in a geometric design composed of a thick black border and an eight-pointed motive outlined in black and filled in with yellow paint (see Figure 20). The latter may be a conventionalized sun symbol.

A second shield base is but 31 cm. in diameter and 4 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Only its cover is decorated (see Figure 21). A black line encircles the circumference of the cover; black and red concentric circles are painted at the center, and a hoofed mammal with horns—a buffalo or deer?—is painted in black. The tail of a cow, with the hair left on, is tied to the center of the cover as a pendant.[5]

The most elaborately decorated of the three shields is shown in Figures 22 and 23. Its cover (Figure 23) is 53.5 cm. in diameter and bears a conventionalized painting of a bear in black (12 cm. long), a black circle filled with black dots at the center, a black stripe below this, and two black dots to the left of the center. Four small feathers are also tied to the center of the cover. The base of this shield (Figure 22) is 50 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. A border of red trade cloth 7 cm. wide is tied at intervals to the outer edge of the shield base. To the inner edge of this cloth are tied 73 pelican feathers as pendants. The trade cloth is decorated with a rectangle of blue pony beads about 7 by 6.5 cm. in size.

The base of this shield (with trade cloth and feather border removed to reveal the shield painting completely) is pictured in color on Plate 18.[A] The large, horned figure in the center may represent either a buffalo or a man (much simplified and conventionalized) wearing a horned headdress. The two monochrome human figures, flanking the central figure, one black and one yellow, are rendered in the same style. Both have featureless rings for heads; short, solid necks; solid, roughly rectangular bodies; and linear ex-

5. This specimen was cat. no. 1470 in the Smithsonian collections but was transferred to the Field Museum, Chicago, in 1901 and is preserved in that museum as cat. no. 62579. Donald Collier, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, Field Museum, has kindly supplied photographs and measurements of this specimen.

A [See Plate 17, p. 180-A—Analyst.]

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Figures 22–23. Comanche decorated shield and painted cover. (USNM 4430)

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tremities. The arms are bent at the elbows and end in three-fingered hands. The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet.

In its rudimentary simplicity the style of human figure represented by this Comanche artist resembles some of the human figures pictured on exposed rock surfaces and in caves of Texas as recorded by archeologists. A. T. Jackson has expressed the opinion that "a few of the historic paintings in West-Central Texas, and perhaps elsewhere, may have been made by the Comanches."[6] The styles of human and animal figures appearing on these three shields are essentially as primitive as are the paintings on rock surfaces and evidence no influence from the white man's artistic traditions.

Black and yellow are the colors most prominently used in these shield paintings. In 1837 Noah Smithwick observed that the Comanche regarded a yellow substance, resembling ochre, as having "power to turn aside any missile which might be directed against a body on which it had been rubbed."[7] The shield paintings were essentially protective designs.

Comanche Quivers Figures 24–25

Two Comanche quivers in the Berlandier collection are pictured in Figures 24 and 25. The first (Figure 24) is of horsehide, 69 cm. long, and decorated with a cut fringe at the back, as well as at the ends of the 5.5 cm. wide rawhide shoulder strap. The second quiver is longer (75 cm.), of horse or deerhide, with a rear extension of buffalo hide, hair inside, about 9 cm. in length. Its rawhide shoulder sling is but 3 cm. wide. Each quiver is fitted with bent wooden spacers which prevent the case from twisting or bending out of shape. Unlike the Comanche specimen illustrated by Bollaert (Figure 18, top center), these quivers are not combined with bow cases. Nor are they made of white wolf hide, which Berlandier learned the Comanche preferred for protecting their weapons because of the strong supernatual powers they attributed to the white wolf.[8]

Comanche Powder Horn Figure 26

Powder horns pictured by Lino Sánchez y Tapia as carried by Lipan, Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa Indians are a dark color, suggesting that they were of buffalo horn.[9] A Comanche powder horn from the Berlandier collection (Figure 26), however, is of domesticated cattle, large numbers of which had reverted to the wild state in Texas before the 1830s. This piece measures 8 cm. in diameter at the base and 2 cm. at the tip. A wooden plug, painted red, has been inserted in the base. Presumably a smaller wooden plug was placed in the tip end to prevent powder from falling out. The horn is decorated

6. Jackson, 1938, p. 465. The same source illustrates a wide variety of conventionalized human figures occurring in pictographs at Texas sites (plates CCLII–CCLXIX), as well as the representation of a buffalo horn headdress painted on the shield of Comanche Jack, which was used by him in raids into Texas prior to 1880 (plate CCXLIII).

7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1845, p. 180.

9. See Plates 1–6, 11, 14, and 15.

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FIGURE 26. Comanche powder horn. (USNM 1472.)

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FIGURE 27. Comanche war whistle. (USNM 5664.)

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FIGURE 28. Karankawa war club. (USNM 5458.)

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profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn.

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche.

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 36 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature.

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Crank-a-War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18. This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of

10. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

[See p. 180-B—Analyst.]

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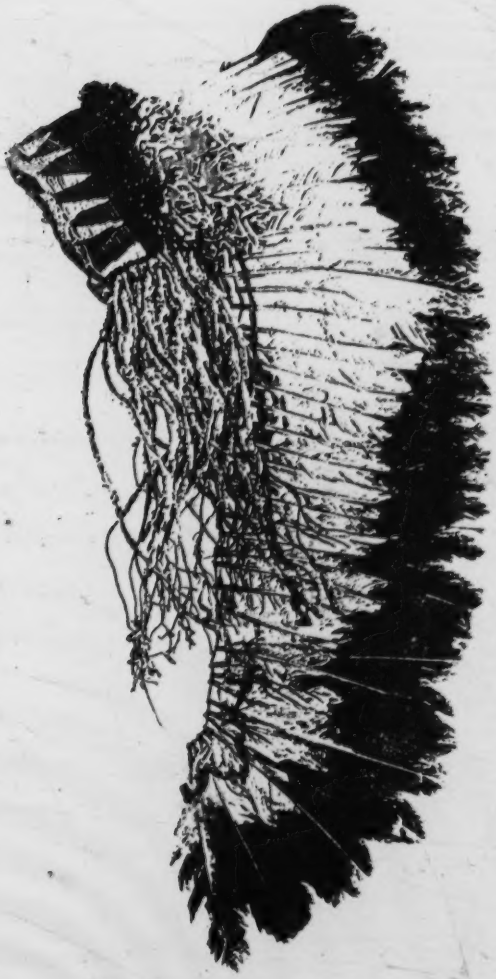

FIGURE 29. Comanche feathered bonnet. (USNM 1475.)

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FIGURES 30–31. Comanche feather ornaments. (USNM 1477 and 1478.)

180 of the head at the front. The designs are long, interlocking triangles of the larger size embroidering beads, sometimes referred to as "pony beads," sewn to the base in a lazy stitch. The triangles pointing forward are of sky blue and those directed backward of white beads. Toward the back of the cap a band of clipped turkey vulture feathers extends over the top, behind which are sewn short narrow strips of rabbit skin. Much longer strips of rabbit skin, each tied to the lower edge of the red cloth, serve as dangling pendants from each side of the cap.

The trailer consists of 43 secondary wing feathers of the immature golden eagle. The uppermost six feathers are tied to the back of the cap. Each feather is secured in place by passing it through a hole in a strip of rawhide (2 cm. wide), looping the basal end of the feather around a buckskin cord, and wrapping it with sinew. The slotted rawhide strip through which the feathers pass serves as a spacer to keep the feathers an equal distance apart.

In view of the known relationship between the Comanche and Shoshoni, it is of interest to find similar caps worn by Shoshoni Indians pictured in Alfred Jacob Miller's drawings and paintings based upon his visit to the fur traders' rendezvous in Wyoming during the summer of 1837.[16]

Although a Comanche warrior may have worn this feathered headdress in battle, there is no reason to believe it was more or less typical of Comanche war headgear than several other types. The headdress of the famous Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), was described as early as 1768 as "a green horn on his forehead, fixed in a headdress, or on a tanned leather head piece."[17] A two-horned bonnet captured from the Comanche who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 is depicted in Figure 18.[A] Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolor of Comanche warriors (Plate 3)[B] shows both a horned buffalo hide cap and a bonnet of upright plumes. David G. Burnet, who knew the Comanche in 1819, wrote of them, "The head-dress is as various as their fancies can suggest and their means supply. Parrow-a-fifty's parade head-dress was a cap made of the scalp of a buffalo bull, with the horns attached in proper position. . . . They sometimes load their heads with feathers, arranged in lofty plumes, or dangling in the air in pensile confusion, or wove into an immense hood."[17] It is apparent that individual preference was reflected in the variety of Comanche headgear worn prior to 1850.

Feather Ornaments Figures 30-31

A circular ornament composed of 57 clipped turkey vulture feathers, carefully strung on a thin buckskin cord by doubling the end of each feather around the cord and tieing it securely with sinew, is shown in Figure 30.

15. Ross, 1951, pp. 34, 127, 199.
16. Thomas, 1940, p. 167.
17. Burnet (1851, p. 133) and Wallace and Hoebel (1952, pp. 82-83) claim that the well-known "war bonnet" of the Plains Indians (presumably the brow-banded type) was not common among the Comanche before the 1870s.

A[See p. 169—Analyst.]
B[Plate 3 has not been processed for the Files—Analyst.]

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PLATE 22. Upper garment of a Comanche woman, worn by Vivian Poolaw, a Kiowa-Comanche. See also Figures 36 and 37. (USNM 148o.)

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Figure 34. Comanche horsehide pouch. (USNM 1469.)

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184 Two longer, complete feathers from a smaller bird are tied to the cord in a similar fashion. Probably this ornament was worn by a Comanche man at the back of the head, with the two longer feathers in an upright position, either as a war medicine or as a dance ornament. The circular ring is 17 cm. in outer diameter; the longest of the two complete feathers is 19 cm. in length.

Another Comanche feather ornament is composed of clipped turkey vulture feathers tied in line to a buckskin cord. (see Figure 31.) The length of this feathered band must originally have been 54 cm., although some feathers toward one end are now fragmentary. There are two buckskin tiestrings at one end, and one at the other. The length of this ornament suggests that it may have been worn as a headband or a neckband.

Comanche Moccasins Figure 32

Although moccasins are probably the most common objects in Plains Indian collections, the pair illustrated in Figure 32 is especially noteworthy as probably the earliest documented example of Comanche footgear, and one of the earliest examples of the hard-soled moccasin from the Great Plains. Each moccasin consists of two pieces, a rawhide hard sole sewn to a soft-skin upper. The upper is a single piece of skin so cut as to furnish the narrow tongue and upturned ankle flap as well as the foot covering. The maximum sole length is 27 cm., and the highest portion of the ankle flap, measuring along the vertical seam at the back, is 10 cm. Each moccasin also has a buckskin tiestring which passes through holes in the upper just forward of the ankle opening, one at each side and one at the center of the back.

Caddoan (?) Moccasins Figure 33

Berlandier does not claim that the moccasins illustrated in Figure 33 are of Comanche origin. They differ basically from the moccasins in Figure 32, each being formed of a single piece of soft dressed skin which provides the sole and covering for the foot as well as the relatively high-topped ankle flaps. These moccasins have no tongues. They are sewn in only two places, up the center back of the heel, and along the midline of the instep from toes to ankle opening, the front portion gathered and puckered over the toes. Each moccasin is 23 cm. long on the bottom of the foot and 17 cm. high at the vertical heel seam. Soft-soled moccasins of this general type had a wide distribution among the Woodland Indian tribes. Dr. Edward Palmer collected a pair of moccasins of this pattern among the Caddo in 1868.[18] The Berlandier specimen may also be of Caddoan origin.

Comanche Horsehide Pouch Figure 34

A Comanche pouch of undetermined use was ingeniously fashioned from the neck and mane of a horse. The mane serves as a decorative pendant to a pouch, roughly 12 cm. square, formed by sewing portions of two sides of the neck together at the sides with sinew. The pouch was carried by a rawhide cord of uneven width, which passed over the user's shoulder and was sewn to the top of each side of the pouch.

18. See Swanton, 1942, plate 13 (109).

415 (531) A small but elaborately decorated pouch from the Comanche (Figure 35) may have served a woman as a container for small toilet articles. Presumably it was worn on dress occasions, supported by the two twisted buckskin cords passed under a woman's belt. Probably the ends of the cords hung free so that the rolled metal cones attached to them would jingle as the woman moved, as would the similar metal jinglers attached to the cut fringes of the top and base of the pouch. The body of the pouch, of reddish-brown buckskin, measures but 8 cm. in height, and 7.5 cm. in its greatest width across the bottom. The vertical seams at each side of the pouch and the tie cords are edged with blue and white seed beads. Even smaller seed beads are used in decorating the front surface of the pouch and flap. Designs on the flap comprise a small rosette with four projecting triangles, and a border band of triangles on a blue ground. Rounded and less precisely defined elements appear in the 1.5 cm. wide beaded horizontal band at the base of the pouch. Bead colors are predominantly the primary ones, red, yellow, and blue, although a few green, pink, and white beads are used. Perhaps the most significant aspects of this pouch historically are its proof that the type occurred on the Southern Plains prior to 1850 and that, even at that early time, small seed beads were employed in its decoration.

Beaded Small Pouch Figure 35

292 (281) (237) A handsome upper garment for a Comanche woman was ingeniously fashioned from a single deerskin (see Figure 36) which measured 106 cm. long by 60 cm. wide in its center dimensions. The basic form of the deerskin has been little altered, even the leg extensions being preserved. A transverse slit in the skin 25 cm. in length provides the hole for the wearer's head and neck, and the garment is draped over her shoulders with the head portion of the skin in front and the tail portion behind. Plate 20 shows a front view of this garment, as worn by Miss Vivian Poolaw, a young Kiowa-Comanche woman from western Oklahoma. Although the center of the hide falls but 52 cm. below the neck opening, the deer legs extend below the wearer's wrists. Primary decoration consists of a blocky reddish-brown painted area extending over the shoulders and down the center both in front and in back. (See Figure 37, showing a back view.) The garment is slightly longer in back (54 cm. on the midline). Note also the long cut fringe at each side which conceals the upper arms and upper forearms, and the much shorter cut fringes on the bottom edges of the garment in front and back. Rolled metal jinglers are attached to a few of the short fringes in front. There is a decorative border of brass tacks around the neck opening and a row of buckskin string pendants about 15 cm. below the neck opening at both front and back. On one of these front strings are strung five large beads, two blue and three red.

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Comanche Woman's Upper Garment Plate 20 and Figures 36–37

292 Presumably this handsome garment was worn by a Comanche woman on dress occasions rather than for daily wear, which may account for its difference in construction from the fitted upper garment pictured in Lino Sánchez

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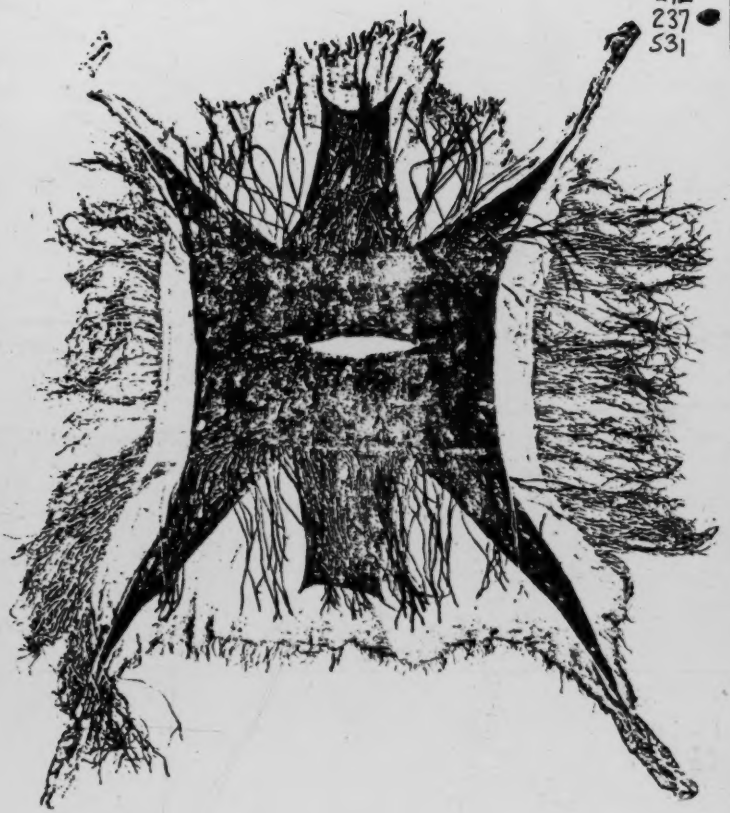

FIGURE 36. Comanche woman's upper garment, spread out, showing pattern of construction from a single deerskin. See also Plate 20 and Figure 37. (USNM 148a.)

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FIGURE 37. Back view of Figure 36 as worn. See Plate 20 for front view.

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FIGURE 38. Comanche collar for a pet antelope. (USNM 1468.)

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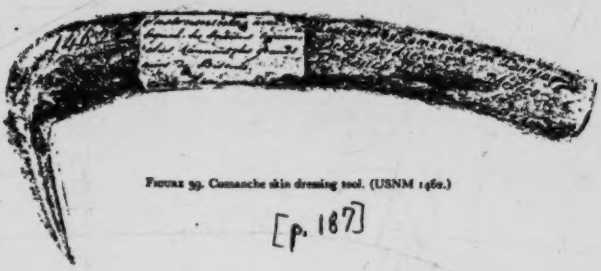

FIGURE 39. Comanche skin dressing tool. (USNM 1460.)

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188 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of more abbreviated form.[20]

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.
20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 16.
21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.
22. Bolton, 1916, p. 258.
23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

[Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced for the Files—Analyst.]